Continued from First Page.

ment bench was occupied. The struggle to obment bench was beautiful. The struggle to obmembers. Radicals and Labor men sat next to memoers the blue Tories, Colonel Saunderthe sings of the Ulster men, found himson, the change the warmest supporters of Mr. Gladatone's scheme; Dr. Tanner was mixed up



W. E. GLADSTONE

with the Tory rout below the gangway; and the whole political appearance of the House was changed by the commingling of the parties.

THE RUSH TO GET INTO THE GALLERIES. The rush to get into the galleries was equal to the struggle to enter' the legislative chamber. All the galleries were packed to their fullest capacity. Justice Harlan, of the United States Supreme Court, who will soon proceed to Paris to take part in the Behring Sea arbitration, had a seat in the diplomatic gallery. He was accompasted by Robert T. Lincoln, the United States Minister. Scores of other noted strangers were in the gallery. They were greeted by Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Rosebery, Secretary of State for Foreign Anairs, both of whom found themselves unable to gain access to the Peers' gallery. As Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Chancellor of

the Exchequer, and his wife were walking to the House through Parliament-st., they were recognized and almost mobbed by the cheering admirers of Mr. Gladstone and his faithful lieutenants.

An amusing incident occurred in the lobby of the House. Extra police were summoned to restrain the throng of noblemen who were waiting for the Peers' Gallery to be thrown open, In cluded among these peers were the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Knutsford, we'll known Liberal members of the Upper House. The police formed them into a queue, and compelled them to preserve at least a semblance of order. Lord Iveagh brought with him a camp stool, which some o his friends in vain sought to hire from him.

During the rush in the House John S. Wallace Liberal, and Colonel Saunderson became involved in a brisk squabble, each accusing the other of stealing his seat. The argument waxed warm, and finally the two members seized each other by the collar, and standing thus, glared into each other's eyes, and continued their alterention. Ultimately Colonel Saunderson withdrew his claim to the seat, upon Mr. Wallace pledging his honor that he had arrived first.

MR. GLADSTONE CHEERED IN THE STREETS. Mr. Gladstone, during all this turmoil, was not in the House. While it was going on he and Mrs. Gladstone left their official residence in Downing-st. A large crowd had long been waiting their appearance, and when Mrs. Gladstone came cut, carrying a large bunch of lilies, she was lustily cheered. A brougham was in waiting, and through the cheering crowd Mrs. Gladstone passed and entered the carriage. She was closely followed by the Premier, who was greeted with renewed and prolonged cheering. The aged states man bowed right and left in response to the en-thusiastic salutation offered him, his face all the

brougham, he and Mrs. Gladstone were at once driven to the House. Groups of people awaited along Parliament-s the coming of the Prime Minister. As his carriage passed he was cheered to the echo. The crowd outside the Palace Yard was smaller than that which gathered at the opening of Parliament, but what it lacked in numbers it made up in enthusiasm. The people roared themselves hourse as Mr. Gladstone, bowing and smiling, entered

while beaming with pleasure. Entering the

the Yard. Mr. Gladstone entered the House of Commo at half-past 3 o'clock. Every Liberal and Irish Nationalist in the House stood up and greeted hm with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers. When Mr. Gladstone rose at forty-three minutes past 3 to introduce the Home Rule bill, there was another demonstration, so earnest, so enthusiastic and irrepressible that it was several minutes beould be heard.

Mr. Glacistone spoke substantially as follows: THE HOME RULERS' POSITION IN 1886.

I may without impropriety remind the Houthat the voices which usually pleaded the cause of Irish self-government in Irish affairs have, with in these walls during the last seven years, been almost entirely mute. I return, therefore, to the period of 1886, when a proposition of this kind was submitted on the part of the Government of the day, and I beg to remmid the House of the position than taken up by all the promoters of these measures. We said that we had arrived at a point in our transactions with Ireland where the two roads parted. "You have," we said, "to choose one or the other." One is the way of Irish autonomy according to the conception I have just referred to the other is the way of coercion. That is our contention. It will be the recollection of the House how that contention was most stoutly and largely denied. It was said over and over again by many members opposite: "We are not exercionists: we do not adopt that alternative, and neither can we adopt it." (Ministerial and neither can we adopt it." (Ministerial) the day, and I beg to remind the House of the and neither can we adopt it." (Ministecheers) That assertion of theirs was undoubt cheers.) That assertion of theirs was undoubtedly sastained by proposals, especially from dissentient Laberals, of various plans dealing with Irish affairs. Those plans, though they fell entirely short in principle and in seepe of Irish self-government, yet were of no trivial or mean importance. They went far beyond what had heretotore been ustailly proposed in the way of local self-government for Ireland.

ell, what has been the result of the dilemma as Well, what has been the result of the dilemma as it was then put forward on this side of the House and repelled by the other? Has our contention that the choice lay between autonomy and corcion been justified or not? (Liberal cheers.) What has become of each and all of those important schemes for giving Irelan's self-government a provinces, and giving her even a central establishment in Dublin with limited powers? All sament in Dublin with imited powers? All analysed into thin air, but the reality remained. The two roads were still there—autonomy or coerdon. The choice lay between them, and the choice made was to repel autonomy and embrace everywade was to repel autonomy and embrace everywade.

You cannot always follow coercion in an ale-You cannot always follow coercion in an absolutely uniform method. In 1886, for the flist time, coercion was imnosed on Ireland, in the slape of a permanent law a ided to the statute book. This state of things constituted an offereding grainst the harmony and traditions of aelf-government. It was a distinct and violent breach of the promise on the face of which union was obtained. That permanent system of repression inflicted upon the country a state of things which

could not continue to exist. It was impossible to bring the inhabitants of the country under coercion into sympathy with the coercing power.

THE BROKEN PROMISES MADE TO IRELAND. Mr. Gladstone dilated at length upon the circumstances under which the act of union was passed, the promise of equality in the laws and of commercial equality under which union was effected. It was then prophesied confidently, he said, that Irishmen would take their places in the Cabinet of the United Kingdom, but it had been his honored destiny to sit in Cabinets with no less than sixty to seventy statesmen, of whom only one, the Duke of Wellington, was an Irishman, while Castlereagn was the only other Irishman who had sat in the Cabinet since the Union. Pitt promised equal laws when the Union was formed. But the broken promises made to Ireland were unhappily written in indelible characters in the history of the country.

Coming to 1832, when the resurrection of the people began, and thence down to 1889, Ireland could present here only a small minority in favor of restoring to her something in the natur of constitutional rights and practical self-govern ment.

ment.

Continuing, Mr. Gladstone said:

It is to me astonishing that so little weight is attached by many to the fact that before 1885 indeed. It is wisles of self-government were represented only by a small minority. Since 1885, when the wide extension of the franchise was pretected by a secret ballot, frehands position has been improved. In 1886 there were tion has been improved. In 1886 there were eighty-five Nationalists, or more than five-sixths (Claers.) They have been reduced from eighty five to eighty under circumstances somewhat peculiar ("Hear," "Hear"), and I must trankly own to myself among others, for reasens totally and absolutely unintelligible. (Loud cheers.)

HOW THE CASE STANDS NOW.

Let us look at the state of the case, as it no stands. There are but cighty out of 191-that is to say, the wishes of Ireland for self-governmen in Irish matters are only represented by four tifths. (Laughter and Ministerial cheers.) Honfifths. (Laughter and Ministerial cheers.) Honorable gentlemen seem to have no respect for such a majority as that. Do they recollect, sir, that never in England has there been such a majority? (Cheers.) No Parliament of the last fifty years has come within measurable distance of it. It there be anything in the great principle of self-government, which, if it be a reality, never can work except through the machinery and by the laws of representation, at any rate the voice of the Irish people, the persistence of the Irish people in derivering that voice, and the peaceful constitutional circumstances under which it has been delivered (Ministerial cheers and Opposition laughter) constitute a great fact in history. It been delivered (Ministerial cheers and Opposition) laughter) constitute a great fact in history. I laustid—and, I admit, with truth—that Irecand is not a united country. I don't deay that the division which exists is a fact of great moment. In truth, were Ireland united, anything that car render Ireland formidable would become very much more formitable. Were Ireland united all opposition would vanish as a shadow. ("Hear," Hear,"

Ireland is not united in this sense, that in or Ireland is not united in this sense, that in one portion of the country not a mere majority of the higher classes, but a considerable popular feeling is opposed to the present national movement, will not be understood to measure the numerical strength of the minerity. It is said by the party opposite that the minerity. It is said by the party opposite that the minerity in the North of Ireland is arrayed in malterable opposition to Home Rule. Unhappily, at the successful instigation of those whose plot it was to divide the people of Ireland when they were united at the close of the last ceatury, through the medium mainly of Orang lodges and through religious animosity, there wie an alteration of feeling: but the Protestants of Ireland during the period of the independent lodges and through reliables animosity, there wis an alteration of feeling; but the Protestants of Ireland during the period of the independent Irish Parkinnent were themselves not only willing, but realous and enthusiastic supporters of Irish nationality. Inasmuch as their political life was at that period more highly developed, they led on the Roman Catholic population in the political movement which distinguished that period. (Cheers). This is written broadcast upon the listory of the time. Genuine national sentiment, in the sense of national unity, had at one tima prevailed among the North of Ireland Protestants. We who have seen them alter, not through their own fault, are not readily to be persuaded that they will not alter back again to the sentiments of their own ancestors (cheers), and with their own blood and their own people form one in noble, glorious unity.

THE ENGLISH FEELING TOWARD HOME RULE.

THE ENGLISH FEELING TOWARD HOME RULE. Alluding to English feeling toward Irish Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone said he would refrain from urging that England would find herself exhausted and her work made impracticable by resistance to Irish demands. He could well conceive England maintaining, if so minded, resistance to Irist demands; but England's conversion to Home Kul-had been rapid. In 1886, England's majority adverse to Home Rule was 211; it had now deeline l to seventy-one. In face of such a fact, wh would guarantee the permanence of the opposition of the remainder. (Cheers.)

He would now ask the patient indulgence of the House while giving an account of the bill Cheers. He could not undertake to supply a probably bewilder his hearers. He would rathe seek to present the salient points, hoping to leave a living impression on the minds and memor of his hearers. If he might omit what, in the view of some members, ought to be mentioned, he begged them to wait and consult the bili itself

which he hoped would soon be in their hands It would be remembered that the bill of 188 laid down five propositions as cardinal princi ples, to which he had endeavored closely t adhere. Change there was, but not a trenchar change, he declared, from the principles of 1886 The object of the bill remained as in 1886, to establish a legislative body in Dublin for th conduct of both legislation and administration in Irish affairs, as distinct from imperial affairs Cheers.

Proceeding with his discussion of the measure

Mr. Gladstone said:
The limiting conditions, which were then el-Mr. Gladstone said:

The limiting conditions, which were then observed, and have since, so far as we were able to do, been sedulously and closely observed, were these: We were to do nothing inconsistent with imperial unity. Of this I will say, whatever our opposents may say, that so far as our convictions and intentions are concerned they would be but feebly stated by being couched in the declaration that we do not mean to impair it. We wish to strengthen it. (theers.) We wish to give it greater intensity than it had ever yet possessed. First, then, imperial unity is observed, and the equality of all is observed; secondly, the equality of all its observed; secondly, the equality of all its observed; secondly, the equality of all the kingdoms would be berne in mind; and, thirdly, there would be equitable repartition of imperial charges; fourthly, any and every precitive the precision of minorities would be included. The plan proposed ought to be such as to present the necessary characteristics of a real and continued settlement.

In the first place, we have made it a depict to meet what we thought no unreasonable ormand for the express mention of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. There were two methods in which that might be done. It might be done by clause: it might be done in the preamble. We have chosen the preamble as the worther and better, for if it were done by clause it would be too much in the character of a mere enactment. It is not necessary to say many words for such a.

netter, for the character of a mere chactment too much in the character of a mere chactment. It is not necessary to say many words for such a purpose. Our own words are "Whereas, it is ex-pedient, without impairing or restricting the su-preme authority of Parliament," and then the preamble goes on to declare the creation of the Irish Legislature.

THE ESSENCE OF THE ACT OF UNION. With reference to the charge frequently with ood faith made against us that we are destroying the act of Union, I wish to challenge inquiry upon this fundamental point. What is the essence of the act of Union. ("Hear!" " Hear!") That sence of the act of Union. C'Hear!" "Hear!" That essence is to be appreciated by comparing the constitution of things found in the country before 1800 with the constitution of things now subsisting in England. Before 1800 we had two sovereignties in the country. One of those was collectively lodged in the King, the Houses of Lords and Commons of England; and the other lodged in the King and Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland. There was no more right, in a true historical and leval sense, in the sovereignty residing in threat Britam to interfere with the sovereignty of Ireland than there was of the sovereignty of England.

This bill respects and maintains these rights of

Decidedly Shaky.

A trembling hand, an uncertain step, fligstiness, indicated by restless shifting from one place or nesture to tanother, usually mental annovance at unexpected noises, are among the indications of extreme nervousness. These seem trifling, but the health of men and women in this condition is "decidedly shaky," liable to be overthrown disastrously by causes which the vigorous might dely assembly causes which the vigorous might dely assembly empowered to make laws for peace, or assembly empowered to make laws for peace and obtain interest exclusively relating to Ireland or to a legislative entirely exclusively relating to Ireland or to a law assembly empowered to make laws for peace and war, public to a double limitation. First of all it is subject to accurate the relation of the Irish legislative, which exclusively relating to Ireland or to a law and obvious limitations imposing certain instance. The law of all it is subject to the result of the relation of the Irish legislative. The law of all it is subject to the result of the relation of the Irish legislative. The law of all it is subject to increase the Irish legislative and obvious limitations imposing certain instance. The law o

contained in the bill of 1886. These provide for the security of religious freedom, the safe-guard-ing of education, and for the security of personal freedom, in which we endeavored to berrow one of the modern amendments to the American Constitution.

THE VICEROY AND HIS ADVISERS.

Then coming to exclusive powers we retain the viceroyalty of Ireland, but we divest it of the party character hitherto borne by making the appointment run six years subject to the revoking power of the Crown. Then, also, the post is

ing power of the Crown. Then, also, the post is freed from all religious disability. (Cheers:

Then comes a clause which may be considered formal, although it is of great importance, providing for the tull devolution of executive power from the soverign upon the viceroy. Then comes an important provision for the appointment of an executive committee of the Privy Council of Ireland. We propose to make this an executive council for the ordinary affairs of the Cabinet of the viceroy. The question arises, shall there be any legislative council? All decided that there ought to be such a council. It has appeared to us to be highly inconvenient to after the numbers of the Legislative Assembly. If we were to increase the number we do not know what the increase ought to be. If we were to reduce it we run serious risks of causing practical inconvenience in Dublin, especially at the time when the functions of internal government come to be newly exercised, and when probably there will be a great deal to do. We therefore leave the number at 103, and we fix the term at five years. We leave the constituency as it is now. Next as to the Legislative Council, Mr. Gladstone said he didn't think they would have been warranted without some strong necessity, in exalt lishing the system of a single Chamber. Proceed-

stone said he didn't think they would have been warranted without some strong necessity, in extal lishing the system of a single Chamber. Proceeding, he said: In Ireland, far from finding any such necessity, we look to the Legislative Coancil as embiling us to meet the expectation that we shall give to the minority some means of freer and fuller consideration of its views. The next thing isshall the Legislative Council be nominated or elected. We came to the conclusion that a nominated council would be a weak council. (Ministerial cheers.) If it should be made weak, the council would probably enjoy a very short term of council would probably enjoy a very short term of existance. We therefore propose an elective council believing it to be the only form wherein we am give any great force to the vitality of the institution. Well, then, how do we differentiate this council from that popular assembly? We have a first the property of its the number at forty with an this council from that popular assembly? We propose to fix the number at forty-eight with an eight years' term of office, the term of the popular assembly being lesser. We then constitute a new constituency. The council constitutency must in the first place be associated with a ratable value of twenty pounds, whereby to secure an aggregate constituency approaching 170,000 persons, including owners as well as occupiers, but subject to a prevision that no owner or occupier has a vote in more than one constituency.

Then there is no provision in the bill making the Legislative Council alterable by Irish acts. Regarding the Legislative Assembly, these 103 members must be elected for Irish legislative business by constituencies in Ireland. We take these provisions in regard to the assembly alterable in respect to electors and constituencies after

these provisions in regard to the assembly afterable in respect to electors and constituencies after six years, but in altering constituencies the power of the Assembly will be limited by the declaratory act to the effect that due regard must be had to the distribution of population. The bill must include a provision for meeting what is called a deadlock. In a case where a bill has been adopted by the Assembly more than once, and where there is an interval of two years tetween the two adoptions, or a dissolution of Parliament, then upon its second adoption the two Assemblies may be required to meet and the fate of the bill is to be decided in joint assembly. (Cheers) Next, all appeals shall be to the Privy Council adone, not to the Council and the Lords. The Privy Council may try the question of the invalidity of any Irish act—that is try it judicially and with reasonable judgment, under the initiality of the Vierroy or Secretary of State. This judicial committee is now recognized by us as the

and with reasonable judgment, under the initiative of the Viceroy or Secretary of State. This judicial committee is now recognized by us as the only approach we can make to the Supreme Court of the United States. In composing this judicial committee due regard must be had to the different elements of nationality. (theers.) We have not apprehended any difficulty there.

Other clauses provide for the security of the emoluments of existing judges and of officers generally. Then there is a clause intended to correspond with the Colonial Validity law, the effect of which is that if the Irish Legislature should just any act in any way contrary to the acts of the Imperial Parliament such law shall be good except in so far as it is contrary to the Imperial concented under the authority of the Crown mainly for financial business. Besides the Exchequer judges it is provided that for six years all judges shall be appointed as now. We do not reserve for the Imperial Parliament the power to fix emoluments. These will be fixed in Ireland, and the effect will be to establish a some control of these appointments. The month of September is probably the most convenient month for the assembly to meet; therefore a clause provides that

the effect will be to establish a soint central of these appointments. The month of September is probably the mest convenient month for the assembly to meet; therefore a clause provides that it shall meet on the first Tuesday in September. Frolonged Irish cheers.

Certain clauses secure the initiative in regard to money bills to the Assembly.

We are now coming to the important question of the constability. We propose a gradual reduction and the altimate dissolution or disappearance of that force with the discharge of every obligation toward them in such a way as will not adversely affect the interests of that homeable force. During the period of transition they will be under During the period of transition they will be under the control of the Victory. It is contemplated that they will be replaced by a force owing ex-istence to the Irish authorities in local areas.

TRISH REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER. On the important subject of the retention of rish members in the Imperial Parliament I de ot regard and have never regarded it as touch ing what are sometimes called fine principles of the bill. It is not included in any one of them. ing what are sometimes called fine principles of the bill. It is not included in any one of them, but whether it be a principle, or whether it be not, there is no question that it is a very weighty and organic defaul, which cuts rather deep in some respects into the composition of the bill. There are strong arguments which may be alleged in defence of the retention of Irish members in Parliament, but there is one argument I must put aside as a most dangerous argument. I must put aside as a most dangerous argument, and in itself quite untenable—the argument. I must put aside as a most dangerous argument, and in itself quite untenable—the argument. I say that if you do admit it at a stroke you shalter purliamentary supremacy upon the prefention of Irish members. I yet quite admit that parliamentary supremacy depends upon the retention of intended and the properties of the visibly exhibits that supremacy in a members has great practical importance, because it visibly exhibits that supremacy in a manuer intelligible to the people. Besides it gives Ireland a voice and a full voice in all imperial matters. (Hear, hear.) It has this advantage—we cannot in our financial connection between the awo countries, unless you are prepared to face a very inexpedient and inconvenient system of different sets of treaties and trade laws. That being so it must be that British budgets will more or less influence Irish pecuniary balances. It is therefore desirable, for the purpose of mitigating any inconvenience which might thence arise, that Ireland should have something to say about these British budgets. I know no argument of an abstract theoretical or constitutions, character against the retention of Irish members at Westminster, but to revert to an old expression which has become rather familiar, I do not think it is in the wit of man to devise a plan for their retention which will not be open some serious rateful representation for Ireland? In 1881 the House treated Ireland in a wise and liberal spirit by assigning 50 members t out whether it be a principle, or whether it be

ought to be a general determination to interpret full representation as meaning representation as cording to the existing population. Speaking of full representation, then, I imply that the rep-resentation in the House from Ireland would be composed of eighty Irish gentlemen. Of course it follows that there would have to be an ele-tion. These eighty members from Ireland in the House would probably be indisposed to recognize a commission given to 103 member, so when it had been determined that eighty was the proper

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number we endeavored to arrange the schedule of the bill in such a manner that this imperial representation would practically not clash with representation in the Legislature at Dublin.

THE VOTING POWER OF THE IRISH MEMBERS Now comes the greater difficulty-what voting nower are these eighty members to have? lend is to be represented here fully, that is my first postulate. My second postulate is that Ireland is to be invested with separate powers, subject, no doubt, to Imperial authority; yet still, as we must from experience practically separate a certain independent power, as has been

still, as we must from experience practically separate a certain independent power, as has been done in other legislatures of the Empire, Ireland is to be endowed with separate powers over Irish affairs. Then the question before us is: Is she, or is she not, to vote so strongly upon matters purely British?

I propose this question in the true parliamentary form—aye or no? There are reasons both ways. We cannot out them off in a manner perfectly clean and clear from these questions, we cannot find an absolutely accurate line of cleavage between questions that are Imperial questions and those that are Irish questions. (Cheers: Chless the Irish members are allowed to vote on all British questions, they must have too little or too much, because there are questions which defy our efforts to arrange them with accuracy and precision on the oppoer side of the line as either English or Irish. We do not see the possibility of excluding them from one of the highest and most important functions of the lineas, namely, that of determining the composition of the executive power. A vate of confidence is a simple declaration, but may be otherwise. I do not see how it is possible to exclude Irish members from vising on that areas subject.

Next, unless Irish Members vote on all questions you break the Parliamentary tradition. The presence of cichty Members with any limited powers of victing is a serious breach of that tradition, which, whether you resolve to face it or not, ought to be made the subject of most careful consideration.

Now came the reasons against the universal

ful consideration.

Now come the reasons against the universal voting power. It is difficult to say, everything

would be, becover, a great anomaly if these schiy Irish Members should come here continually to intervene in questions purely and absolutely Brithe. If some large question or controversy in British affairs should then come in causing a deep and vital severing of the two great perties in this House, and the members of those parties keew that they could bring over eighty Members from Irichad to support their views. I am afraid a case like that would onen a possible door to wholesale dangerous political intrinue. Hear! Hear!

My colleagues found themselves not well able to face a continuency of that kind. They inserted in the bill limitations on the voting power of the Irish Members, to evelude them, first, from voting on a bill or metion expressly confined to Great Britain; second, from voting on at tax not levied upon heland; third, from voting on any other of or appropriation of money otherwise than for the imperial service; fourth, from voting on any nation or resolution exclusively affecting Great Britain.

The whole schiect is full of thorus and brambles, but our object is the autonomy and self-government of Ireland in all matters properly Irish. The Irish people certainly did not raise the difficulty to which I have just alluded—the retention of Irish members in the House. This is a secondary matter in their eyes, and ought not to interfere with their principal aim. In tace of the feeling that a shade of uncertainty still hances ever the question of relention of the Irish Member, we have affected to the paragraph concerning this question that determine the coming mancial legislation."

I wish to supply the keynote to the financial part of the legislation. That keynote is to be found in the provision included in our plans from the first, and wisely and generously acceded to by Ireland through her representatives, that there to be but one system of legislation for all the three kingdoms. As far as external things are three kingdoms. As far as external things are concerned, that will be found to entail very important consequences. It has guided us to the conclusion at which we have arrived, of unity of the conquercial legislation for the king forms. This includes custom and excise duties, postofice and telegraph.

By adopting this keynote we can attain to the most valuable results and will be likely to avoid the clashing friction of agents of the Imperial and agents of the Irish tovernment. We can make coher ever of this proposal a larger and more

the classing friction of agents of the Imperial and agents of the Irish Government. We can make under cover of this proposal a larger and more liberal transfer to Ireland in the management of her own affairs than we could make if we proceeded on any other principle. We hope to escape in this way all collection in the interior of treland of any revenue whatever by lengerial authority. The principle to which we are bound to give effect in Ireland is; Ireland has to bear a tair share of Imperial expenditure. C'Hear, hear. The world "Imperial" is defined in the schedule which gives the list of Imperial burdens.

There are three modes in which this fair share.

may be apportioned. The first method is the bumpes in mayment, adopted in 1886. This method, we thought, should disappear naturally from the new will, for, through the retention of brish representation here, Irish members will vote rish representation here. Irish memoris, the Imperial expenditure. Consequently, it wou seem strings an ier these circumstane's to reve to the method of a lump sum. Another methods what may simply be described as the method a quota—that is to say, that Ireland shall pay it is not cent, or what y a quota—that is to say, that Ireland small pay of per cent, or 5 per cent, or 4 per cent, or what you per sent, of the Innernal expenditure, which shall be taken out of the common fund. She will be debited to that extent and will have to pay it over from her account to ours. It you fix the onota, and the quota be absolutely elastic, should the Imperial expenditure swell, the principle of the quota would still secure the relative share to be contributed by Ireland.

THE QUESTION OF THE DUST REVENUE. But there is a third method, which one we adopt, that of deducting from the Irish revenues the amount due England. There is one of these revenues to which the greatest difficulty adheres. When explaining the subject in 1886, I pointed When explaining the subject in 1886, I foliate out that there was a large revenue locally received in Ireland, but really be onging to Great Britain. The principal part of that revenue was within the Excise Department. With the advantage of the consideration which the Inland Revenue Department has had since the farmer plan was produced, we get rid of the difficulty altogether, as fur as the inland revenue is concerned. We provide that revenue levied in Ireland shall be revenue really telenging to Ireland—that is, revenue from goods consumed to freland. It is not so with the customs. With the customs there is a large debt from Ireland to this country. It is not so large as is involved in the case of exerce, but still it comes un to everal hundreds of thousands. If we adopted the method of a quota, we should expose Irish finance to large and inconvenient shocks from changes antroduced in English tadeers. Implical rea of so do what we see. I think, very unwilling to domainely, to give Juperral officers a meddling and intervening power in relation to Irish fiscal affairs. The third plan is to expreparate a particular. out that there was a large revenue locally re

intervering power in relation to Irish fiscal affai so the relation to Irish fiscal affai so the relation is to empropriate a particular fund; say this fund shall be taken by us and shall atand in acquittal of all obligations of Ireland for Imperial services. This fund will sweep away all the difficulties of calculation and intervention which might belong to the quota method. Then we have part of the fund practically in our hands in the management of the ensous revenue of reland. Consequently we shall be receivers of a fund which will never go near the Irish Exchange. If it be deemed a fair and convenient irrangement, there can be no question of handing it backward and forward. We shalld been it and give Iroland a receipt in full, instead of conting upon her for heavy payments from year to year. Then, next, the customs fund would be very tently the right amount. I do not know what the House might consider the right amount. Judgments might fluctuate. Some might say 4 per cent; some 5 per cent; some more than 5 per cent. But the amount is this: 12,430,000 yearly gross. 200,000 showed for calculation leaves. per cent; some 5 per cent; some more than 5 per cent. But the amount is this; £2.430,000 yearly cross, £0.0,000 allowed for collection, leaves £2.370,000 net. With the Imperial expenditure at £50,000,000, £2.370,000 is a sum that drops between a charge of 4 per cent and a charge of 5 per cent. The Irish members will observe that by that means everything of a practical nature we will hand over to them. Though the rates of excise and the post and telegraph rates will be a fixed amount, the authority and the whole control over them will be absolutely in the hands of Irish officers.

The fund plan falls short of the exactifule of the quota plan. The latter facthod meets every exigency of pence and war, but this plan is not write so exact. Observing may arise, such as: Are we assured we shall obtain from Ireland a rair share of assistance in a great Imperial emergency? I, myself, am bound to say that I think there is very little to fear from trusting the patriotism and liberality of the Irish Lexislature. (Opposition cries of "Oh, "Oh," oh, and cheers from members on the covernment beckes, ginese was never a vice of the Irish peope, and if we look forward very much. I am afraid her suffering will be due to generous extravamice rather than to meanness. When we come to a state of war, we have to look to several sources—customs, excise and income tax. With regard to environ, we propose to leave them in our hands, so that there can be no difficulty in adapting contributions, so far as customs are concerned. With regard to excise, we have in

our hands, so that there can be no difficulty in adapting contributions, so far as customs are con-cerned. With regard to excise, we have in view a proposition to retain considerable control in our hands, which considerable power will enable Great Britain to make sure of having aid

from Ireland if she thinks such provision neces-

HOW THE IRISH BALANCE-SHEET STANDS. The Irish balance-sheet stands thus: On credit side would appear excise, £3,220,000; with local taxation, which goes over stamps, income tax, excise licenses, which are £1,495,000; postal revenue, £740,000; Crown lands, £65,000; miscellaneous, £140,000-making a total of £5,660. is not a serious matter." 000. On the other side, Ireland takes over the

mission. I will now release the House from the painful consideration of details, which it has pursued with unexampled patience. I have tried to convey the fundamental conception and spirit of the scheme. I submit that the plan may be imperfect, but I hope it will receive impartial consideration. Although there may be friendly and untrievally criticisms. I hope I shall not give offence when I express my deep conviction that a plan closely resembling this, if not the present proposal, of an identical legislative chamber for Ireland, may shortly become law. There is one risk, and that is that if this controversy is unduly and unwarrantably prolonged, the demand for self government in regard to Irish affairs may become a demand for the repeal of the Union and the establishment of dual supremacy in these islands. I hope that the Ship of State will be steered from that rock.

I would ask you to contrast the present condition of the Irish people with what it was at the time of Swift, when the Irish Ascendancy Parliament begred to be admitted to the British Parliament and was refused; or with what it was in the beginning of the century immediately after the Union, when Irish voters were trooped to the poll for the simple purpose of recording their votes in order to return landlords to Parliament. We have concluded that we baye before us now a different state of things. Ireland has on her side the memory of vast victories, carned by the sweat of laber, but really carned and recorded in her behalf. Ireland has mighty symoathies. She requires this larger and stronger island. She has obtained the suffrage of Scotland and the suffrage of Wales, and in the short space of seven years she has chanced a majority of more then 200 against ber in England to one-third that nission.
I will now release the House from the painful

suffrage of Wales, and in the short space of seven years she has changed a majority of more then 200 against her in England to one-third that number. She was stinted in franchise and means of representation. Now, she possesses a most extended franchise, with most perfect protection. Her remaining objects she has not yet attained to, but she looks forward to the attainment of them with more means in her hands.

THE MODERATION OF IRELAND'S DEMANDS

One other source of strength she has-the noderation of her demands. ("Hear!" "Hear!" She has, ever since 1886, if not before, but un-equivocally and nationally since, abandoned the whole argument that perhaps she was entitled to make on the subject of the Act of Union. She has asked you to save for yourselves every Innerial power. She has consented to accept the House of Commons and the universal supremacy of the Empire. In return, she has asked you only that she have the management of her own affairs, which reason and justice, combined with the voice of her people, I hope, will soon move this nation to say soon shall be awarded her. If this is to be the end of the matter, I think dispussionate men would say the sooner ended the letter; the sooner we stamp the seal which will educe all our former animosities and open the era of peace and good will-the sooner done he era of pence and good will—the sooner done he better. But these are matters which human vision is

the better.

But these are matters which human vision is hardly equal to penetrating. I must say, however, for my own part, that I never will, and never can, be a party to bequeathing to my country the continuance of this heritage of discord, which has been handed down from generation to generation, with hardly momentary interruption, through seven centuries—this heritage of discord, with all the evils that follow in its train. I wish no part nor lot in that process. It would be misery for me if I had forgone or omitted in these closing years af my life any measure it was possible for me to take toward upholding and premeting the cause which I believe to be the cause, not of party or one nation, but of all parties and all nations. To these nations, viewing whom, as I do, with their vast opportunities, under a living union for power and happiness—to these nations I say: Let me entreat you—let the dead bury their dead, and cast behind you ferever recollections of bygone evils;

treat your-let the dead bury their dead, and east behind you ferever recollections of hygone evils; cherish, love and sustain one another through all viewstudes of human affairs in times that are to come. (Prolonged Liberal cheers.)

When the cheering had died out, Sir Edward Clark, who was Attorney-General in the Salisbury Administration, congratulated Mr. Gladstone on the magnificent physical effort which he had just made, and then proceeded to enlarge on the proposals of the hull. He dwelt with particular severity upon the absence of any provisions which would remove the objections of the people of Ulster to Home Rule, and then went on to declare that the ball as outlined would not satisfy even the Nationalists, who had declared that they would not accept the veto which had been retained in the new bill. not accept the

ME. SEXTON CITES THE CASE OF CANADA. Thomas Sexton, Anti-Parnellite Member for North Kerry, was loudly cheered on rising. He

referred to the case of Canada, which, he mainreterred to the case of Camada, which, he maintained, was disbyal, almost to rebellion, before it was established as a home rule colony. Canada, he insisted, would have been lost to England long ago if home rule had been refused her. Mr. Sexton paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Gladstone for his steadiastness in the cause of Home Rule and to the intellectual power which he had shown in laying the bill before the House. He declared that its provisions were, on the whole, better than those of the bill of 1886. He agreed with the proposal that the Executive should have power from its inception to establish a new police force, after which the Irish constabulary was to be withdrawn from areas in which the new police were placed. Mr. Sexton said he did not object to the Upper Chamber, considered as a safeguard to the minority. The financial proposals were less just to Ireland than those of the bill of 1886. His party was not disposed to make any trouble concerning the retention of Irish members at Westminster; but it was probable that, when Home Rule should have been established, their voices would be silent in the House unless the other members troubled them, (Laughter,) If the Imperial Parliament should display any tendency to a capricious and vexations use of the veto, or to interference in the sphere defined by itself for the Irish Parliament, he thought it would be found that Irelan's unique position would stand the Irish members in good stead. (Conservative cheers.)

Mr. Gladstone, in answer to Sir Edward Clarke, ained, was disloyal, almost to rebellion, before

heers.) Mr. Gladstone, in answer to Sir Edward Clarke,

said the land question was reserved to the Imperial Parliament for three years.
How THE MEMBERS REGARD THE SPEECH.
Members then trooped out into the lobbies, where the sprech was informally discussed with great animation. The Glad-Tonian Liberals were Members then trooped out into the lobbies, where the spreed was informally discussed with great animation. The Gladsonian Laberais were disposed to regard it as a conciliatory, well-baianced and peace-making measure, and seemed to be hopeful as to the second reading. The Anti-Paraellite Members, while guarded in them utterances, favored the bill as a winde, and were especially pleased with the financial arrangements, concerning which there had been some apprehension. As to veto, for the present, the Anti-Paraellites would not say more than that they would keep an open mind in regard to it. All that the Tories would say for the new bill was that it was more segacious and better drawn than that of 1780. The Liberal-Unionists would not make even this favorable admission, and were declaring everywhere, as they have been declaring for weeks while the provisions of the bill were unknown, that it must inevitably meet the fate of its predecessors—that is, that it would never reach the committee stage in the House of Commons.

Meantime, in the House, Colonel Suunderson, Conservative, Member for North Armach, was creaking vehemently against any and every pian of Home Rule. The Ulster Loyalists, he stid, would offer to the last the bitterest opnosition to any Home Rule reheare. Without utbring a distinct threat, he would say merely that units the whole country were blind it could not ignore the demonstration of Ulster Unionists last summer. On notion of Colonel Saunderson the debate was then adjourned.

Mr. Sexton's speech embodied the results of a lastly deliberation of the Irish party under the results, led by Henry Labouchere and Sir Charles Dilke, will oppose the creation of a second chamber. The Moderate Liberals also

Radicals, led by Henry Labouchere and Sir Charles Dilke, will oppose the creation of a second chamber. The Moderate Liberals also have some misrivines in regar! to comelications likely to arise from thresfold elections in Irsland. The text of the bill will probably not appear until the end of the week.

COMMENTS ON THE BILL AND SPEECH. PRAISE FOR MR. GLADSTONE'S ELOQUENCE-CRITICISM OF THE MEASURE.

London, Feb. 14,-"The Dally News" in a leading article on the new Home Rule bill and Mr. Gladstone's speech, says: "Mr. Gladstone displayed most splendid powers of elequence and argument. It is utterly childish to call the bill a separatist's measure. The double chamber arrangement is infinitely better than the proposal of 1880. The retention of Irish mem-Westminster is the most likely part of the bill to excite keen resistance. The proposal is not an ideal one. It would have been better to reduce the Irish representation to one-half or even one-third and allow the Irish members to vote on every ques-

tion. As a whole the bill is so cautious and moderate that it will probably convert many moderates. It is significant that while Mr. Sexton stigmatized the is significant that while ar. 5 Acon ambar-financial proposals as unfair to Ireland, Mr. Chamber-lain denounced them by anticipation as unjust to England. Mr. Sexton's demand that during the three years the Irish land question is withdrawn from the purview of the Irish Legislature the number of frish years the Irish land question is withdrawn fro members at Westminster should remain undisturbed

one. On the other side, Ireland takes over the whole of the civil charges, with the exception of the constabulary charges, of £3,110,000; inland revenue, £160,000; and postal service, £790,000. We propose that Ireland shall take part of the constabulary charges, amounting to £1,000,000. This will bring the Irish charges to £5,160,000. We propose that she shall receive against that the items I have put to her credit, amounting to £5,600,000. Thus she will have a clear surplus of £500,000 with which to start on her mission. "The Times" says: "Those whom Mr. Gladstone sented abounded with ingenuities and plausibilities, yet it produced an impression of profound disappointment. The exclusion of the Irish members from Westment. The exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster, the very cornerstone of Mr. Gladstene's policy
of 1836, has disappeared. The most indulgent will
fail to discern the faintest sign of finality in the
scheme, and his omission of any reference to the
land question until questioned on the subject, indicates plainly how he has artificially restricted his
views. The proposed upper council is an exceedingly
doubtful protection for the minority. The most ferfile
source of quarerl will be the financial proposals.
In another article "The Times" demounces the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, and ridicules the notion that they can sit in two Parlaments
simultaneously.

"The Daily Graphic" says: "The prospects of the
full are not rosy. The measure bristles with duncultes. A controversy is likely to rage over the
veto power and the retention of Irish members at
veto power and the retention of Irish members at
vestminister. The latter poposal is undoabledly the
weakest part of the bill, giving the Irish as it does
an enormous lever with which to exact any further
concessions."

"The Chronicle" says: "Mr. Gladstone achieved a
feat midque in the life of any legislator of ancient or
modern times. The retention of the Irish members
at Westminister is, according to our judgment, one
important feature that makes the bill acceptable to
important feature that makes the bill acceptable to
look legisland and Ireland. Altogether the present
till is a great improvement on that of 1836, and
those opposing it ought to produce some alternative
plan of their own."

"The Daily Geograph" speaks of the sight of Mr.
Gladstone dedvering his speech as a spectacle to
which the world cannot supply a parallel, "It was,"
says "The Telegraph," "a truly wonderful exhibition
of that form of moral courage which shows itself in
flightenered conjections arged to the Home Rule bill of
1836, Marvellous as a physical and intellectual tour
de force, it is not statesmanship, nor does it hear the
remotest resemblance to anything minster, the very cornerstone of Mr. Gladstone's policy

THE FRENCH SAID TO BE FAVORED.

Paris, Feb. 13.—A dispatch to the "Figaro" from Carthagena, Colombia, declares that the Government will grant a preference to the French proposals for completing the Fanama Canal, if assurance is obtained that operations will be resumed. It is doubted whether French capital will be found ready to support whether French capital will be found ready to support the enterprise any longer. The Pre-ident of Colombia has already received proposals from other quarters, based on the scheme of a loan to be guaranteed by the Republic of Colombia and by Venezuela. The mon who have been negotiating with the object of taking the canal property from Colombia have feft Cartingena for Rogota, to lay their plans before the Central Government of the Republic. The dispatch to the "Figure" adds that Great Britain has not mide any proposals, but that several properts have been submitted from the United States. An American, Colonel Tysdell, is now in Bogota to engage in negotiations on the subject.

LOPEZ BEATS LASKER IN A BLINDFOLD GAMEL Havana, Feb. 13.—On Friday Lopez and Lasker played a game of chess, each being blindfolded and Lasker giving to Lopez odds of a Knight. Lopez won, Lasker resigning.

ALGERNON SARTORIS ILL FOR ELEVEN WEEKS London, Feb. 13 .- Advices from Capri state that Algernon Sartoris, who died from pneumonia at that place on February 3, was ill for eleven weeks. His

NO DAMAGE TO THE POMERANIAN'S CARGO. London, Feb. 13.-Notwithstanding the fact that several of the deck houses of the Alian Line scamer former anian were carried away by the two tremendous eas that boarded her on February 4, not enough water got into the hold to damage the cargo. The work necessary to repair the damage will be pushed as rapidly as possible, and it is expected that the stranger will soon be in good condition again. The Iomeranian's passengers will sail for New-York on the Alian Line steamer Norwegian, which will leave on Friday.

DISSATISFIED WITH GRESHAM.

WHAT ARE HIS POLITICS, ANYHOW1 WHAT ARE HIS POLITICS, ANYHOW?

From The New-York San (Dem.).
Whether Judge Gresham will go into Mr. Cleveland's
Cabinet as a Republican or as a Democrat is a question
that is now attracting a good deal of attention. As
to the Judge's present party allegiance, we have
no information that is less than 108
days old. On October 27, 1892, he wrote a letter
to the Hon. Bifford Wilson, of Illinois, which conteined, along with other interesting matter, the following positive and distinct statements;

"It is not true that I voted for Mr. Cleveland in
1888."
"I voted the Lepublican ticket at every Presidential election since the party was organized, except in

list election since the party was organized, except in 1864, when I was not able to go to the polls."

"I did tell you at Springfield that after mainre-reflection I had determined to vote for Mr. Clevelani-this fail, because I agree in the main with his views on the turiff."

tatis fail, because I agree in the main with his views on the tariff."

"I think, with you, that a Republican can vote for Mr. Cleveland without joining the Democratic party."
This is the letter concerning which the Editor of The Brookin Eagle? makes the incredible and tetally unsupported assertion that it was withheld by Judge Gresham until proof had been furnished to him "that Mr. Cleveland at the Victoria Hotel dinner defield and subjugated the Tammany men, instead of bargaining with them."

It will be observed that 10s days ago Judge Gresham was a depublican with a record clear of Mugwampery in any form, amouncing that he should vote for Mr. Cleveland stream could vote for Mr. Cleveland views on the tariff, and that in his opinion a Republican could vote for Mr. Cleveland views on the tariff, and that in his opinion a Republican could vote for Mr. Cleveland without becoming a Democrat.

There remains, of course, the possibility that during the 10s days which have elapsed since Judge Gresham wrote to Major lanford Wilson the Judge has become a Democrat. If it is imperiant to know, we suggest that a very good test would be his present state of miled on the third-term question.

Does Judge Gresham still believe that he was acting as a patriotic citizen, and in the interests of the permanency of the American system of government, when his ardently advocated the nomination of General Grant for a third term and warnly supported the leaders of the imperialistic movement in his own Republican party:

HE OUGHT NOT TO BE THE PREMIER.

HE OUGHT NOT TO BE THE PREMIER.
From The Cleveiand Plaindealer (Dem.).

Ent the place (for him) is not the State Department.
There are reasons of a personal character why the
position is not that for which Judge Gresham is best
inted. It requires qualities for which he Judge is
not specially noted. Those for which he is distinguished, while admirably niting him for some other
position in the Calditet, would work to his disadvantage in the department where diplomatic skill is required. But the strongest objection is of a political
character. The State Department is looked upon,
rightly or wrengly, as the leading office in the Cabinet. As long as this impression lasts it is proper
that the occupant of the position should not only be
a man of prominence and ability, with special qualifications for the pest, but one whose party standing
is everywhere recognized. This is a Democratic Administration, and the chief position in the President's
official family should be a Democrat. New recruit
of ability ought to be treated with the consideration
due their character and fitness, but if they are at
once placed next to the chief there will naturally be
murmurs of dissatisfaction.

COULD NO DEMOCRAT BE FOUND!

COULD NO DEMOCRAT BE FOUND!

From The Atlanta Constitution (Dem.),
We do not hesitate to say that, if from the ranks of active Democratic leaders so able a person as Judge Greeham could not be found to assume the responsibilities of the State Department, its appointment would be an eminently proper one, nor do we say that it is not. But the suggestion materally presents itself that from such men as John T. Morzan, of Alabama; Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; John M. Palmer, of Bluots; Arthur P. German, of Marcland, and a nost of others whose services have put the party in a position where the President elected by it was given the privilege of making the appearament, as election sufficiently strong could have been made without sub-testing the party to the criticism of overlooking men from its own ranks.

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